

A LOOK
INTO THE
FUTURE**NEXT**Next Publishing Company
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Telephone 212 599-1840Executive Registry
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June 9, 1980

Hon. Stansfield Turner, Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington DC 20505

Dear Mr. Turner:

You and roughly 100 other authorities are being invited to participate in a two-round Delphi survey on the outlook for the use of nuclear weapons in the near future, and on new initiatives for preventing such use.

This may be the first public Delphi poll ever conducted on this subject; the results of a Delphi survey conducted some years ago by the Pentagon have never been released. And since it is widely agreed that radical changes during the past decade may have upset the nuclear balance among nations, we expect that the findings of our poll will command unusual attention in the media and among policy makers.

NEXT Magazine is a new future-oriented publication with a circulation of 400,000. A recent issue is enclosed.

As you may know, a Delphi survey is a poll of expert opinions involving at least two rounds of questionnaires. After you complete and return the first questionnaire, we will send you: (1) a list of the names of other experts who are participating in the poll, and (2) a summary of all the responses to the first round. You will then have a chance to re-think your initial answers in the light of the other experts' collective views, and respond to the questionnaire a second time.

At no time will any individual panelist's views be directly attributed to that panelist. All individual responses will be kept confidential. NEXT will publish a major article based mainly on the responses to the second-round questionnaire. In conjunction with that article, we will publish a list of names of all the Delphi panelists, except for those who wish to remain anonymous.

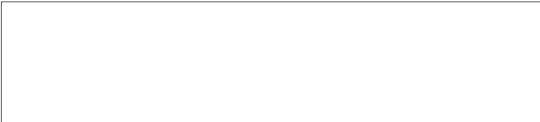
Enclosed are: a respondent data sheet, a return envelope, two copies of the first round questionnaire, and a copy of NEXT magazine. Please mail one copy of the completed survey form to us, and keep one copy with your answers so that you can compare them with the collective judgments of the other panelists before you complete the second-round questionnaire. Because of the time required to tabulate and analyze the first-round responses, we would appreciate it if you could complete and return the enclosed survey form within seven days.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call me collect at (212) 599-1840.

Thank you for your assistance.

With kind regards,

STAT


Special Projects EditorWGB:lb
Encl.

RESPONDENT DATA SHEET

IMPORTANT!

In order to send you the second round of our Delphi Poll and receive your response in time for tabulation and publication, we must know where you will be during the next 2 to 3 weeks, even if you are on vacation.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

What is your field of expertise
or professional training?

What is your current position
or title?

What is your current organizational
affiliation? (Optional)

How many years have you been a
student of international affairs,
military strategy, or nuclear
warfare?

_____ years



A DELPHI SURVEY into THE OUTLOOK FOR NUCLEAR WAR—1980 to 1990

1. Today, five nations (U.S., U.S.S.R., France, Britain, China) possess operational nuclear weapons, while one other (India) has detonated nuclear devices, and still others have, or will shortly acquire, such capability.

A. How many nations do you believe will possess operational nuclear weapons by 1990?

(Please circle the number on the scale below corresponding to your assessment.)

6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 20+

B. How many nations do you believe will possess operational nuclear weapons by 2000?

(Please circle the number on the scale below.)

6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 30+

2. In your view, does the growth in the number of nations with nuclear weapons by itself significantly affect the likelihood of nuclear warfare?

(Please circle the number on the scale below that most closely approximates your judgment.)

"The probability of nuclear war

1	2	3	4	5
actually declines with the spread of nuclear weapons"	is not affected by the spread of nuclear weaponry"	is increased somewhat by the spread of nuclear weaponry"	is increased con- siderably by the spread of nuclear weaponry"	increases radically with the spread of nuclear weaponry"

3. Is the risk of nuclear war going to be greater in the future? For each of the 6 past or future time periods shown below, please estimate what you believe the relative probability of nuclear war was—or will be.

(Draw a circle around the probability most closely approximating your answer.)

<u>TIME PERIOD</u>	<u>ESTIMATED PROBABILITY</u>								
(a) During the 1950's, I believe that the probability of nuclear war was about	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(b) During the 1960's, I believe that the probability of nuclear war was about	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(c) During the 1970's, I believe that the probability of nuclear war was about	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(d) From 1980 through 1984, I believe that the probability of nuclear war will be about	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(e) From 1985 through 1989, I believe that the probability of nuclear war will be about	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(f) During the 1990's, I believe that the probability of nuclear war will be about	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	

4. A number of experts believe that countries that have not yet gone nuclear may now do so, fearing a loss of protection by the U.S.

(Please circle your viewpoint.)

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Strongly disagree		Inclined to disagree		Not certain			Inclined to agree		Strongly agree	

5. Between which powers do you believe nuclear war is most likely to occur?

(Please rate as many pairs as you feel able to competently judge; place the number "1" in front of those you feel to be the most likely combatants, the number "2" in front of the second most likely, and so forth.)

Superpower Wars:

- _____ NATO vs. Warsaw Pact—a general, GLOBAL nuclear war
- _____ NATO vs. Warsaw Pact—a REGIONAL nuclear war
- _____ U.S. vs. U.S.S.R.—a GLOBAL nuclear war
- _____ U.S. vs. U.S.S.R.—a REGIONAL nuclear war
- _____ U.S.S.R. vs. China—a REGIONAL nuclear war

(continued on next page)

Non-Superpower Wars:

- _____ China vs. India—regional
 _____ India vs. Pakistan—regional
 _____ Arab Bloc vs. Israel—regional
 _____ Other(s) (Please indicate which) _____ vs. _____
 _____ vs. _____

6A. If the most likely GLOBAL nuclear war you selected in your response to Question 5 were to actually occur, how probable do you believe each of the following characteristics or immediate consequences would be?

(Please circle the number most closely approximating your assessment on the scale to the right of *each* of the possible occurrences listed below. If you did *not* select any GLOBAL conflict AT ALL in response to Question 5, please skip this Question.)

POSSIBLE CHARACTERISTICS AND IMMEDIATE* RESULTS OF A GLOBAL NUCLEAR WAR	ESTIMATED PROBABILITY OF EACH OCCURRENCE							
<u>Number of Nuclear Detonations:</u>								
(a) Less than 100 for all combatants	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(b) 100-500 for all combatants	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(c) Over 500 for all combatants	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
<u>Number of Immediate Fatalities:</u>								
(d) Less than 5 million persons worldwide	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(e) 5 to 50 million persons worldwide	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(f) Over 50 million persons worldwide	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
<u>Political Outcome:</u>								
(g) Victory for U.S./NATO	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(h) Victory for U.S.S.R./Warsaw Pact	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(i) A cease-fire with no political winner	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(j) A protracted war with conventional weapons	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(k) A protracted nuclear war	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
<u>Immediate Social and Economic Impact:</u>								
(l) Extensive social and economic disruption among defeated combatants	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(m) Extensive social and economic disruption among all combatants	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(n) Extensive social and economic disruption elsewhere in the world	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
<u>Other Immediate Impacts:</u>								
(Please describe any other immediate results of a GLOBAL nuclear war that you believe likely, and assign them a probability.)								
(o)	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(p)	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%

*NOTE: Occurring during actual nuclear hostilities or within 30 days thereafter.

6B. What do you believe the probabilities of the following possible long-term effects would be, after such a GLOBAL nuclear war?

(Once again, please give an assessment of *each* one of the following list, by circling the number most closely approximating your estimated probability.)

POSSIBLE LONG-TERM RESULTS OF A GLOBAL NUCLEAR WAR	ESTIMATED PROBABILITY OF EACH POTENTIAL OUTCOME							
(a) Collapse of world political order	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(b) Up to 25 million persons experience some form of debilitating radiation poisoning	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(c) 25 or more million persons experience some form of debilitating radiation poisoning	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(d) Plant and animal mutations evident in everyday life	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
<u>Elimination of present systems of national government in:</u>								
(e) Europe	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(f) The United States	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(g) The Soviet Union	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(h) Return of chauvinistic nationalism and frequent regional warfare worldwide	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%

(i) Increased likelihood of further nuclear wars	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(j) Increased development of other "terror" weapons —bio-chemical, laser, etc.	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(k) Rise of non-aligned nations as a dominant world force	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(l) A true world government with an international "police force" to enforce peace	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(m) An effective ban on all nuclear weapons	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
General regression of industrial societies to:								
(n) Pre-1900 standards of living	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(o) Pre-industrial standards of living	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(p) The end of organized civilization	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(q) A one-generation delay in the overall progress of mankind	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(r) A multi-generation delay in the overall progress of mankind	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%

7A. If the most likely REGIONAL nuclear war you selected in response to Question 5 were to actually occur, how probable do you believe each of the following characteristics or immediate consequences would be?

(Please circle the number most closely approximating your assessment on the scale to the right of *each* potential occurrence listed below. If you did *not* select any REGIONAL conflict AT ALL in response to Question 5, please skip this Question.)

POTENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND IMMEDIATE* RESULTS OF A REGIONAL NUCLEAR WAR

ESTIMATED PROBABILITY OF EACH POTENTIAL OUTCOME

Number of Nuclear Detonations:

(a) 1 to 100 for all combatants	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(b) Over 100 for all combatants	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%

Number of Immediate Fatalities:

(c) Less than 1 million persons	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(d) 1 to 5 million persons	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(e) Over 5 million persons	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%

Potential Outcome:

(f) Victory for one of the combatants (Please indicate which) _____	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(g) A cease-fire with no political winner	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(h) After a nuclear exchange, a protracted REGIONAL war with conventional weapons	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(i) Expansion to a GLOBAL war	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%

Other Immediate Impacts:

(Please describe any other immediate results of a REGIONAL nuclear war you believe likely, and assign them a probability.)

(j) _____	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(k) _____	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(l) _____	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%

*NOTE: Occurring during actual nuclear hostilities or within 30 days thereafter.

7B. And following such a REGIONAL nuclear war, what do you believe would be the probability of each of the potential long-term outcomes listed below?

POSSIBLE LONG-TERM RESULTS OF A REGIONAL NUCLEAR WAR

ESTIMATED PROBABILITY OF EACH POTENTIAL OUTCOME

(a) General rise in nationalism and international tension	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(b) Increased local warfare all around the world	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(c) Increased likelihood of other nuclear wars	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(d) Less than 1 million persons suffer some form of debilitating radiation poisoning	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(e) 1 or more million persons suffer some form of debilitating radiation poisoning	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(f) Plant and animal mutations evident in combatant areas	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(g) Increased development of non-radioactive weapons —e.g. lasers, energy beams, bio-chemical warfare, etc.	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%

- (h) An effective global ban on all nuclear weapons . . . 1% 5% 10% 25% 50% 75% 90% 99%
- (i) An effective international "police force"
to enforce world peace 1% 5% 10% 25% 50% 75% 90% 99%

8. Some scientists believe that powerful new weapons—e.g., lasers and electron beams combined with aerospace technology, etc.—will supersede nuclear weapons and missile systems within 15 or 25 years. How do you believe the development of such weapons would affect the overall probability of global war?

(Please circle the one number of the scale below most closely approximating your assessment.)

"The development of new high-technology space weapons would cause the probability of global war to be

-10	-1	0	+1	+10
greatly	slightly	largely	slightly	greatly
decreased"	decreased"	unchanged"	increased"	increased"

9. Please evaluate the following steps for reducing the likelihood of nuclear war during the next 10 years, both in terms of your judgment of their political workability and their effectiveness.

(Please circle one number on each scale for each proposed step.)

WORKABILITY					PROPOSED ACTION	EFFECTIVENESS				
Not Possible	1	2	3	Highly Possible		Totally Ineffective	1	2	3	Highly Effective
1	2	3	4	5	A <i>limited</i> nuclear disarmament treaty (among existing nuclear powers), with <i>no</i> on-site inspection.	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	A <i>limited</i> nuclear disarmament treaty <i>with</i> on-site inspection	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	A <i>universal</i> nuclear disarmament treaty with <i>no</i> on-site inspection	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	A <i>universal</i> nuclear disarmament treaty <i>with</i> on-site inspection	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Unilateral nuclear disarmament	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Creation of an international military force to guarantee world peace and to enforce U.N. and World Court decisions, followed by general disarmament	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	A system of "killer" satellites designed to detect and automatically destroy any nuclear weaponry	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	A stronger U.S. military position	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	A world-wide interfaith movement in the manner of Gandhi or Martin Luther King	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Universal declaration of no-first-use of nuclear weapons	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Selective elimination of current destabilizing deployments/prevention of new destabilizing deployments	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Stronger U.S. defense guarantees to countries not having nuclear weapons	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Stricter safeguards on provision of nuclear-energy resources to other nations	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Complete international isolation of nation first using nuclear weapons	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Use of nuclear weapons against nation using nuclear weapons against non-nuclear nation	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Establishment of an international non-proliferation institution	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Other—(If you have suggestions of your own that you believe would rank better than any of the above, please describe them below and rate them accordingly.)	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	_____	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	_____	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	_____	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	_____	1	2	3	4	5

10. Please use the space below to make any comments you wish regarding your answers to this poll, and to suggest new questions for the next questionnaire.



A DELPHI SURVEY into THE OUTLOOK FOR NUCLEAR WAR—1980 to 1990

1. Today, five nations (U.S., U.S.S.R., France, Britain, China) possess operational nuclear weapons, while one other (India) has detonated nuclear devices, and still others have, or will shortly acquire, such capability.

A. How many nations do you believe will possess operational nuclear weapons by 1990?

(Please circle the number on the scale below corresponding to your assessment.)

6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 20+

B. How many nations do you believe will possess operational nuclear weapons by 2000?

(Please circle the number on the scale below.)

6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 30+

2. In your view, does the growth in the number of nations with nuclear weapons by *itself* significantly affect the likelihood of nuclear warfare?

(Please circle the number on the scale below that most closely approximates your judgment.)

"The probability of nuclear war

1	2	3	4	5
actually declines with the spread of nuclear weapons"	is not affected by the spread of nuclear weaponry"	is increased somewhat by the spread of nuclear weaponry"	is increased con- siderably by the spread of nuclear weaponry"	increases radically with the spread of nuclear weaponry"

3. Is the risk of nuclear war going to be greater in the future? For *each* of the 6 past or future time periods shown below, please estimate what you believe the relative probability of nuclear war was—or will be.

(Draw a circle around the probability most closely approximating your answer.)

<u>TIME PERIOD</u>	<u>ESTIMATED PROBABILITY</u>								
(a) During the 1950's, I believe that the probability of nuclear war was about	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(b) During the 1960's, I believe that the probability of nuclear war was about	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(c) During the 1970's, I believe that the probability of nuclear war was about	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(d) From 1980 through 1984, I believe that the probability of nuclear war will be about	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(e) From 1985 through 1989, I believe that the probability of nuclear war will be about	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(f) During the 1990's, I believe that the probability of nuclear war will be about	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	

4. A number of experts believe that countries that have not yet gone nuclear may now do so, fearing a loss of protection by the U.S.

(Please circle your viewpoint.)

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Strongly disagree		Inclined to disagree		Not certain		Inclined to agree		Strongly agree		

5. Between which powers do you believe nuclear war is most likely to occur?

(Please rate as many pairs as you feel able to competently judge; place the number "1" in front of those you feel to be the most likely combatants, the number "2" in front of the second most likely, and so forth.)

Superpower Wars:

- _____ NATO vs. Warsaw Pact—a general, GLOBAL nuclear war
- _____ NATO vs. Warsaw Pact—a REGIONAL nuclear war
- _____ U.S. vs. U.S.S.R.—a GLOBAL nuclear war
- _____ U.S. vs. U.S.S.R.—a REGIONAL nuclear war
- _____ U.S.S.R. vs. China—a REGIONAL nuclear war

(continued on next page)

Non-Superpower Wars:

- _____ China vs. India—regional
 _____ India vs. Pakistan—regional
 _____ Arab Bloc vs. Israel—regional
 _____ Other(s) (Please indicate which) _____ vs. _____
 _____ vs. _____

6A. If the most likely GLOBAL nuclear war you selected in your response to Question 5 were to actually occur, how probable do you believe each of the following characteristics or immediate consequences would be?

(Please circle the number most closely approximating your assessment on the scale to the right of *each* of the possible occurrences listed below. If you did *not* select any GLOBAL conflict AT ALL in response to Question 5, please skip this Question.)

POSSIBLE CHARACTERISTICS AND IMMEDIATE* RESULTS OF A GLOBAL NUCLEAR WAR				ESTIMATED PROBABILITY OF EACH OCCURRENCE					
<u>Number of Nuclear Detonations:</u>									
(a) Less than 100 for all combatants	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(b) 100-500 for all combatants	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(c) Over 500 for all combatants	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
<u>Number of Immediate Fatalities:</u>									
(d) Less than 5 million persons worldwide	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(e) 5 to 50 million persons worldwide	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(f) Over 50 million persons worldwide	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
<u>Political Outcome:</u>									
(g) Victory for U.S./NATO	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(h) Victory for U.S.S.R./Warsaw Pact	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(i) A cease-fire with no political winner	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(j) A protracted war with conventional weapons	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(k) A protracted nuclear war	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
<u>Immediate Social and Economic Impact:</u>									
(l) Extensive social and economic disruption among defeated combatants	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(m) Extensive social and economic disruption among all combatants	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(n) Extensive social and economic disruption elsewhere in the world.....	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
<u>Other Immediate Impacts:</u>									
(Please describe any other immediate results of a GLOBAL nuclear war that you believe likely, and assign them a probability.)									
(o)	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(p)	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	

*NOTE: Occurring during actual nuclear hostilities or within 30 days thereafter.

6B. What do you believe the probabilities of the following possible long-term effects would be, after such a GLOBAL nuclear war?

(Once again, please give an assessment of *each* one of the following list, by circling the number most closely approximating your estimated probability.)

POSSIBLE LONG-TERM RESULTS OF A GLOBAL NUCLEAR WAR	ESTIMATED PROBABILITY OF EACH POTENTIAL OUTCOME								
(a) Collapse of world political order	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(b) Up to 25 million persons experience some form of debilitating radiation poisoning	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(c) 25 or more million persons experience some form of debilitating radiation poisoning	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(d) Plant and animal mutations evident in everyday life	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
Elimination of present systems of national government in:									
(e) Europe	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(f) The United States.....	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(g) The Soviet Union	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	
(h) Return of chauvinistic nationalism and frequent regional warfare worldwide	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%	

(i) Increased likelihood of further nuclear wars	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(j) Increased development of other "terror" weapons —bio-chemical, laser, etc.	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(k) Rise of non-aligned nations as a dominant world force	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(l) A true world government with an international "police force" to enforce peace	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(m) An effective ban on all nuclear weapons	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
General regression of industrial societies to:								
(n) Pre-1900 standards of living	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(o) Pre-industrial standards of living	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(p) The end of organized civilization	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(q) A one-generation delay in the overall progress of mankind	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(r) A multi-generation delay in the overall progress of mankind	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%

7A. If the most likely REGIONAL nuclear war you selected in response to Question 5 were to actually occur, how probable do you believe each of the following characteristics or immediate consequences would be?

(Please circle the number most closely approximating your assessment on the scale to the right of *each* potential occurrence listed below. If you did *not* select any REGIONAL conflict AT ALL in response to Question 5, please skip this Question.)

POTENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND IMMEDIATE* RESULTS OF A REGIONAL NUCLEAR WAR

ESTIMATED PROBABILITY OF EACH POTENTIAL OUTCOME

Number of Nuclear Detonations:

(a) 1 to 100 for all combatants	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(b) Over 100 for all combatants	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%

Number of Immediate Fatalities:

(c) Less than 1 million persons	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(d) 1 to 5 million persons	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(e) Over 5 million persons	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%

Potential Outcome:

(f) Victory for one of the combatants (Please indicate which) _____	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(g) A cease-fire with no political winner	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(h) After a nuclear exchange, a protracted REGIONAL war with conventional weapons	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(i) Expansion to a GLOBAL war	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%

Other Immediate Impacts:

(Please describe any other immediate results of a REGIONAL nuclear war you believe likely, and assign them a probability.)

(j) _____	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(k) _____	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(l) _____	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%

*NOTE: Occurring during actual nuclear hostilities or within 30 days thereafter.

7B. And following such a REGIONAL nuclear war, what do you believe would be the probability of each of the potential long-term outcomes listed below?

POSSIBLE LONG-TERM RESULTS OF A REGIONAL NUCLEAR WAR

ESTIMATED PROBABILITY OF EACH POTENTIAL OUTCOME

(a) General rise in nationalism and international tension	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(b) Increased local warfare all around the world	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(c) Increased likelihood of other nuclear wars	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(d) Less than 1 million persons suffer some form of debilitating radiation poisoning	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(e) 1 or more million persons suffer some form of debilitating radiation poisoning	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(f) Plant and animal mutations evident in combatant areas	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%
(g) Increased development of non-radioactive weapons —e.g. lasers, energy beams, bio-chemical warfare, etc.	1%	5%	10%	25%	50%	75%	90%	99%

- (h) An effective global ban on all nuclear weapons ... 1% 5% 10% 25% 50% 75% 90% 99%
- (i) An effective international "police force"
to enforce world peace 1% 5% 10% 25% 50% 75% 90% 99%

8. Some scientists believe that powerful new weapons—e.g., lasers and electron beams combined with aerospace technology, etc.—will supersede nuclear weapons and missile systems within 15 or 25 years. How do you believe the development of such weapons would affect the overall probability of global war?

(Please circle the one number of the scale below most closely approximating your assessment.)

"The development of new high-technology space weapons would cause the probability of global war to be

-10	-1	0	+1	+10
greatly	slightly	largely	slightly	greatly
decreased"	decreased"	unchanged"	increased"	increased"

9. Please evaluate the following steps for reducing the likelihood of nuclear war during the next 10 years, both in terms of your judgment of their political workability and their effectiveness.

(Please circle one number on each scale for each proposed step.)

WORKABILITY					PROPOSED ACTION	EFFECTIVENESS				
Not Possible				Highly Possible		Totally Ineffective				Highly Effective
1	2	3	4	5	A <i>limited</i> nuclear disarmament treaty (among existing nuclear powers), with <i>no</i> on-site inspection.	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	A <i>limited</i> nuclear disarmament treaty <i>with</i> on-site inspection	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	A <i>universal</i> nuclear disarmament treaty with <i>no</i> on-site inspection	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	A <i>universal</i> nuclear disarmament treaty <i>with</i> on-site inspection	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Unilateral nuclear disarmament	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Creation of an international military force to guarantee world peace and to enforce U.N. and World Court decisions, followed by general disarmament	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	A system of "killer" satellites designed to detect and automatically destroy any nuclear weaponry	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	A stronger U.S. military position	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	A world-wide interfaith movement in the manner of Gandhi or Martin Luther King	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Universal declaration of no-first-use of nuclear weapons	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Selective elimination of current destabilizing deployments/prevention of new destabilizing deployments	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Stronger U.S. defense guarantees to countries not having nuclear weapons	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Stricter safeguards on provision of nuclear-energy resources to other nations	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Complete international isolation of nation first using nuclear weapons	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Use of nuclear weapons against nation using nuclear weapons against non-nuclear nation	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Establishment of an international non-proliferation institution	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	Other—(If you have suggestions of your own that you believe would rank better than any of the above, please describe them below and rate them accordingly.)	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	_____	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	_____	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	_____	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5	_____	1	2	3	4	5

10. Please use the space below to make any comments you wish regarding your answers to this poll, and to suggest new questions for the next questionnaire.

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